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MANGAIA IN THE COLONIAL WORLD, 1863–1899

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This paper analyzes letters written between 1863 and 1899 from the island of Mangaia in the Cook Islands. Collectively, they provide insights into how the people of Mangaia managed their relationships with the outside world, especially with British authorities in the Pacific. These letters are discussed in conjunction with other documents from the colonial archives in order to achieve a more balanced understanding of the way Mangaians acted upon the cultural values inherited from their ancestors in the context of an increasing assertion of foreign control over their island. These vernacular letters articulate a long-hidden subaltern history of Mangaia.

FROM 1888 UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT of the twentieth century, the Cook Islands, including the southern island of Mangaia, were a British Protectorate although the Resident was a New Zealander, and his office was funded by the New Zealand Government. In 1901 the Cook Islands were formally annexed to New Zealand. This colonial relationship continued until 1965, when the Cook Islands became self-governing in free association with New Zealand. Since then the relationship between the countries has continued to evolve to the point that the Cook Islands is now effectively independent, although its people retain New Zealand citizenship and other privileges indicative of a "special relationship" existing between the two nations (Gilson 1980: 104; Scott 1991: 86–87, 298, 301; Ama et al. 2003: 334–335).

Mangaia's own relations with the *Papa'ā* (European) world began much earlier when Captain Cook attempted to land there on his third Pacific voyage in 1777. Occasional visits by whalers constituted the main contact between Mangaia and the outside world in the following decades until the London Missionary Society (LMS) attempted to land missionaries from the Society Islands in 1823, without success. The following year they tried again,

landing two unmarried men from Taha'a, Davida and Tī'ere (or Tī'are), on the island. They were accepted by the ruling chiefs and granted their protection. From that point on Mangaia fell into the orbit of the LMS, receiving periodic reinforcements of its missionary staff, along with brief supervising visits from English missionaries, in particular the peripatetic John Williams. From 1845 the Society based an English missionary family on Mangaia to oversee the local church. The church, however, remained under the protective mantle of the ruling chiefs of the island. The island's autonomy officially ended with the proclamation of the Protectorate, and later annexation, although the chiefs retained an important role in the local government of their island. A notable feature of Mangaia's government during the colonial period was the maintenance of chiefly control of lands in place of the determination of titles by the Cook Islands Land Court established under the New Zealand colonial administration.[1]

The continuing assertion by Mangaians of their right to reach their own decisions according to customary practices and beliefs has been a constant theme of the island's relations with outsiders, whether missionaries, colonial administrators, or even members of the postcolonial Cook Islands Government. This essay explores episodes in Mangaia's relations with the Papa'ā world during the latter half of the nineteenth century, starting with the kidnapping of Mangaians by Peruvian slavers in 1863 and ending during the later years of the Protectorate period when the island had already become part of New Zealand's zone of economic and political interests. Each episode reveals the different challenges faced by Mangaia's leaders and people as they attempted to pursue a course of action that they considered appropriate for their own society and its well-being.

An important part of this historical study is the contribution made to an understanding of Mangaian assertions of autonomy by the writings of the local actors themselves. These texts can be found scattered through the colonial archives and among the papers of the LMS. The emphasis on local historical voices reflects the practice of Subaltern Studies, which also rewrites history "from the distinct and separate point of view" of the people themselves, and uses "unconventional or neglected sources" such as "previously unexamined colonial administrative documents."[2] Mangaia's subaltern documents, written in *te tara Mangaia* (the Mangaian language), are rare. Frequently their place is taken by official translations in English, the originals either destroyed or perhaps taken possession of by the translators whose own versions were considered acceptable substitutes for the voices of the Mangaian writers themselves. In this essay, attention has been given to those episodes for which vernacular texts still survive. These works, and more

especially the cultural values expressed within them, give the best opportunity to understand Mangaia's relationship to the colonial world as the Mangians themselves understood it since, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986: 16) observes: "Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world."

The struggle to sustain some degree of autonomy within a colonial world links these hidden Mangaian texts to other subaltern voices in the Pacific. One important body of such writing is being produced by indigenous scholars in Aotearoa New Zealand whose ancestors long ago migrated from out of the southern Cook Islands and the Austral Islands (Kirch 2000: 213, 277; Kirch and Green 2001: 61). For these *whanaunga* (relations, connections), to use the New Zealand Māori kinship term, "language is the core of our Maori culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori (The language is the life force of the mana Maori)." It is a *taonga* (treasure, heirloom): "the very soul of the Maori people" (Te Reo Maori Report 1986: 34).[3] The role of language as upholding "mana Maori" in Aotearoa New Zealand suggests that an effective, balanced study of historical sources for the Māori people of Mangaia should similarly resist writing solely "in terms of the coloniser's precepts" and "the coloniser's agenda," in favor of a historiography that attends to the continuing influence upon Mangaian agendas and actions exerted by "the Māori value system" inherited from their ancestors (Durie 1998: 62).[4] Those subaltern values are most accurately expressed through sources written in te tara Mangaia.

The development of a Mangaian body of writing began during the LMS period. In common with other missionary societies, the LMS laid much stress both on missionaries learning local languages and on the development of written languages and the acquisition of literacy by locals so they could read vernacular versions of the Bible (see Gunson 1978: 237–247, 255–266). The LMS, from their headquarters in Rarotonga, put much effort into the translation of the Bible for the whole of the Cook Islands. Sections of the New Testament in Rarotongan Māori became available from 1828, and the first edition of the Bible in that language was distributed in 1852 in islands such as Mangaia. The earliest Mangaian letter found so far (written to the LMS) dates from 1841, 17 years after the arrival of the first missionaries (Reilly 2007: 36). Besides letters, Mangaian Christians, such as the *'orometua* (missionary, pastor) Mamae, also wrote much ethnographic information especially for William Wyatt Gill, the Papa'ā missionary who served on Mangaia from 1852 to 1872 (e.g., Reilly 1993a, 1993b, 2003). Thus the scattered letters written to different colonial agents form part of a larger

body of indigenous language texts, very few of which have been published.[5] The following essay reproduces the letters written to different officials in part to bring to light for Mangaian people today a hidden part of their own inheritance and in part to juxtapose them with the far more abundant records produced by the Papa'ā colonial world itself.

Up until annexation Mangaia's primary relationship with the larger world of Papa'ā colonization was mediated through the resident English missionary family (the same family might reside there for between 10 and 20 years). Something is known of the Mangaian attitude to the LMS through the letters the church community (the *'ekalesia*) wrote to the Society's London directors. The Mangaian writers describe themselves as brothers and sisters of their brethren in the English church, emphasizing their close familial ties. The mission family on Mangaia was understood as having left its own *kōpū* (clan, family) to come out and live among the Mangaian community as a gesture of *aro'a* (loving kindness). Such gestures clearly established an ongoing and reciprocal relationship between the English and Mangaian churches. Not surprisingly, the Mangaian church and its leaders expected that they could ask for and receive expressions of such aro'a, not only in the form of staffing but also other help, such as material goods, whenever they should have need of it (Reilly 2007). This familial relationship with the LMS was to inform Mangaia's attitudes and understandings of the world during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Slavers from Peru

In 1863 the Governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, received an emotional plea from the leaders of Mangaia, who had just then experienced a visit from Peruvian slavers in search of human cargo. This is the first letter reproduced below (Governor 1863). Grey's advocacy of "a 'British Pacific Ocean'" and support for the education of Pacific peoples were well known and led to a number of such chiefly appeals being sent to him, including a request in 1865 to extend British Protection to Rarotonga (Ross 1964: 41–51, 66; Gilson 1980: 43). During 1862 and 1863 Peruvian vessels visited Pacific islands in search of laborers to work in their agricultural sector, which was desperate for workers of any description (Maude 1986: 1–2). Some came voluntarily, but most were recruited using deception or were kidnapped (Maude 1986: 193). International opinion very quickly realized the recruitment scheme was little more than "a slave trade," and it was brought to an end (Maude 1986: 144–149). Of the 3,634 Pacific people recruited by fair means or foul, 3,125 survived to reach Peru, but only 157 of them ever returned alive to a Polynesian island (Maude 1986: 164, 191).

Letter 1

Mangaia 1863 Mareti 11

'E leta teia nā te Ariki mā te au kavana i te 'enua rā i Mangaia.

E te kavana ē: tē tātā atu nei mātou kiā kōtou i te aronga mana, mā te aronga tao'onga i nuzelanina, e tauturuturu mai kōtou i tō mātou nei tūmatetenga i ngā marama i topa akenei.

Tērā taua tūmatetenga nei. 'E aronga tangata nō mātou, kua riro i tēta'i pa'ī keiā tangata. Tērā mai tō rātou au ingoa. Ko Davida tēta'i, 'e ariki 'aia, 'e tamaiti nā te Ariki, nā Nūmangātini. Tērā tēta'i, ko Teao, 'e Ariki 'oki 'aia. Tērā ēta'i, ko Ruringa, ko Tangiri, 'e puke tangata 'ekalesia rāua. Tērā tēta'i ko Kirikino, 'e tangata 'ua 'aia, kāre ona 'e tao'onga. Ka toko rima rātou, kua riro i te keiā ia, ko taua tūmatetenga ia nō mātou nei. I te marama ia Januari i te rā 25, 1863, i riro kē ai rātou. 'E sabati te rā i tae mai ai taua pa'ī rā i ō mātou nei, 'oe atūra tō mātou vaka i runga i taua pa'ī rā, toko 8 rātou i te 'aerenga, i runga i taua pa'ī rā, 'oki maīra 'e toko toru, ki uta, riro atūra 'e toko rima. I kokoti'ia te taura i te 'ere i tō rātou vaka, 'akatere atūra te pa'ī, e ngaro atūra.

Ē teianei, e te Gavana ē! E aro'a mai koe i ā mātou, ko au teia ko Nūmangātini, te Ariki o Mangaia nei, e kave atu koe i te tuatua i Beritane, e kimi mai kōtou i taku tamaiti, ē tōku au tangata. Ko tā mātou ia tuatua kia koe, kia ora ana.

Nā te Ariki mā te au Gavana i Mangaia.

Mangaia, 11 March 1863

This is a letter from the *Ariki* (king) and the *kavana* (governors) of the island of Mangaia.

O Governor, we are writing to you and the *aronga mana* (assembly of mana) and the office holders of New Zealand, to seek your assistance in our distress during the months that have just passed.

This is the reason for our distress. A party of our people has been taken away by a people stealing ship. These are their names: Davida, an ariki, the son of the Ariki, Nūmangātini; Teao, also an ariki;[6] Ruringa and Tangiri, members of the 'ekalesia; and Kirikino, just a man, who does not hold a title. The five of them were taken by that thief, and that is the cause of our grief. They were taken away on January 25, 1863. It was the Sabbath day when that ship arrived, and our canoe paddled out to that ship, with eight crew, who went on board that vessel: three returned to land, the other five were taken away. The rope tying their canoe was cut, and the ship sailed away, and disappeared.

> And now, o Governor, show aro'a for us, and to me, Nūmangātini, the Ariki of Mangaia. Convey the information to Britain, and look for my son, and for my people. We say this to you, greetings.
>
> The Ariki and the Governors of Mangaia.

The "*pa'ī keiā tangata*" (people stealing ship) that took the five men has been identified as the "three-masted 312-ton frigate *Empresa*," which left Callao, Peru, on November 22, 1862 bound for the Marquesas and Cook Islands (Maude 1986: 32, 44, 186). Nūmangātini would eventually be reunited with his son and heir. Two years after these events the resident missionary, William Wyatt Gill, was pleased to report that Davida had returned from Tahiti, where he had been repatriated following the termination of the recruitment scheme in Peru. Gill added: "You may imagine the aged king's joy at once more beholding the face of his son" (Gill 1865). Unfortunately, Davida died around 1872, predeceasing his father; his son would inherit the office of ariki (Harris 1879a).

Nūmangātini's appeal to the Governor of New Zealand assumes a certain equivalence between the British and the Mangaians. The Governor is simply called "te kavana," without any further qualification: the same title as used in the letter for the chiefly leaders of Mangaia themselves. Such an assumption of equality is doubtless premised on the familial relationship Mangaians shared with the LMS and its local representatives. The island's leaders call on Grey to demonstrate aro'a for them; the same language is deployed to describe the nature of their relationship with the LMS. As used in this letter aro'a is an important cultural value implying a mutual recognition of humanity, with one party showing compassion for the other, thereby establishing a relationship of reciprocal caring between them.[7] In this context Mangaia's leaders, long taught to view England in a positive light by the LMS, sought and expected Grey's assistance as the nearest representative of Queen Victoria's Imperial Government.

The letter reveals much about the indigenous authority structure then in place in Mangaia. At its apex is the ariki, Nūmangātini, representing the island to outsiders, along with his six kavana. These were the chiefs of the six *puna* (districts) of the Mangaia who were responsible for the overall management of the lands and people.[8] Together the ariki and kavana formed the aronga mana, the collective name for the government of the island. In the letter they seem to assume that the same kind of system exists in Aotearoa; addressing their letter to the Governor, the aronga mana, and the *aronga tao'onga* (group of titled leaders).[9] This may simply have been a diplomatic courtesy on the part of Mangaia's own government, who recognized the existence of an equivalent hierarchy in New Zealand.[10] In listing the kidnap

victims Nūmangātini begins with those of high rank, the two ariki, followed by members of the Christian community, and ends with "*'e tangata 'ua*" (just a man); in other words, a commoner, without rank. While addressing a tragedy brought upon Mangaia by outsiders, the letter reveals the maintenance of a coherent internal hierarchy based firmly upon chiefly principles of rule inherited from the island's pre-Christian era. The letter's content also demonstrates a continuing reliance by the island's leaders upon a close relationship with Britain and its rulers, first established in the 1820s through the LMS.

Missionary Texts Concerning the Slaver

Mangaia's Papa'ā 'orometua, William Wyatt Gill, became "the principal missionary informant on the activities of the recruiters" in the Pacific, reporting their deeds to newspapers, colonial authorities, and the LMS (Maude 1986: 136). Unfortunately, he was overseas on leave when the slavers kidnapped the men and was only told of the incident by Mangaians who met him on his return at Rarotonga (Gill 1863a, 1863b). Gill provides two important narratives complementing the report sent to the Governor by Nūmangātini and the kavana. The first was written while Gill was still on board the mission ship, *John Williams*, heading to Mangaia (Gill 1863a).

> A canoe put off to bring the Captain on shore (over the reef). Unsuspectingly they went on board. They strongly assert that of the six who went on board five were rendered unconscious (by chloroform I presume) and stowed away below. The sixth jumped overboard and got ashore in his canoe. Amongst those taken away is the king's eldest son and successor. The whole island is mourning for him.

The second account written several months after the event provides a more detailed account of the incident (Gill 1863c).[11]

> From this island five have been stolen. On Sabbath Jany 25th ult a vessel hove in sight and was at first taken for the missionary bark. A canoe paddled by 8 natives put off. On nearing the vessel they discerned their mistake. But upon being assured that it was an american whaler, the natives foolishly made fast their canoe and five of them clambered on deck. Drugged spirits were given to each of them, and they stood looking vacantly over the ship's side at their friends. The three below now found that the rope had been cut by

> the white men, and fearing for the safety of their companions on deck they shouted lustily to them to throw themselves overboard and swim to the canoe. One of the five had sense enough left to attempt to pull off his shirt, but was kept prisoner by the white men. This slaver immediately made all sail and was speedily out of sight. One of the five stolen is the favourite son and intended successor of the king, who is a very aged man.

The method of rendering the victims unconscious once they boarded the vessel was employed by the ship's doctor, Dr Inglehart (or Englehart). According to Maude (1986: 34–35, 44), he would give the intended victims a drink of brandy laced with opium in order to stupefy them. Unusually, the doctor along with other ship's crew were later tried, and while Inglehart was able to escape Peru's jurisdiction before trial, he, along with the captain and a British seaman, were found guilty on various charges of using force and violence; the latter two were sentenced to prison terms of six and four years, respectively, though the rest of the crew was released (Maude 1986: 155). Part of the explanation for the willingness of the Mangaians to board the *Empresa* reflects their experience of visiting vessels. In this case, the men had initially thought the ship was the LMS bark, the *John Williams*, which travelled between mission stations picking up and dropping off supplies and staff. They ventured out expecting Gill to be on board (Gill 1984: 339). However, they were lured closer to the Peruvian slaver by reassurances that it was in fact a visiting American whaler. The latter vessels were well known to Mangaians, who generally seem to have had positive relations with them. Local people engaged in extensive trade, and many young men were recruited as crew over the years, thus explaining why the slaver pretended to be one.[12] Perhaps the most significant feature of the letter from Nūmangātini and the kavana was its date. It was written the week before Gill's return, thus highlighting the political autonomy of Mangaia's indigenous system of government. They did not need to await their missionary's return before initiating an appeal to Britain's Pacific representatives.

A Troublesome Trader

The proclamation in 1888 of a British Protectorate over the southern Cook Islands had long been campaigned for by New Zealand, where both government and business interests supported the growing trade between Auckland and Rarotonga.[13] However, that year Makea, an ariki on Rarotonga, fearing French invasion from its possessions in the neighboring Society Islands, petitioned Great Britain for protection. Her appeal finally convinced the

Imperial Government of the need to act. Because of New Zealand's previous offer to pay for a British Consul in the Cook Islands, negotiations were opened between Britain and the colonial government, resulting in the appointment of a New Zealander as British Resident in the Protectorate, paid for by the New Zealand Government.

The Resident advised the local chiefly government, though from 1891 no legislation could be enacted without his formal approval (*AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 6). The Resident was expected to act as a kind of parent or mentor, helping the local rulers to govern "justly and wisely" for their people, and "for the advance in civilisation and prosperity" (*AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 2). While funded by New Zealand, the Resident actually reported to the Governor of New Zealand as the representative of the Imperial Crown. The first Resident, Frederick Moss, had formerly been a Fiji planter and a member of New Zealand's Parliament; he was officially appointed in November 1890 and arrived in Rarotonga in April 1891. Before that British interests were represented by Richard Exham, Acting Vice-Consul (and representative of the Auckland trading company, Donald and Edenborough). Moss was later succeeded in 1898 by W. E. Gudgeon, an officer in the New Zealand colonial militia and a former Māori Land Court Judge.

The following Mangaian letter (Governor 1891a) was written in the aftermath of a major dispute with profound political ramifications for both Mangaia and the LMS. The incident occurred in 1890 when Mangaia's indigenous authorities expelled a British trader, H. W. Pearse, from the island. The New Zealand Governor had actually dispatched Moss unofficially to the Cook Islands to achieve a settlement of this dispute before his appointment as Resident (Gilson 1980: 64). Much of the correspondence surrounding this case, including the following letter, was addressed to Sir J. B. Thurston, High Commissioner and Consul General for the Western Pacific, who as the ranking British colonial official in the Pacific had jurisdiction over the Cook Islands at this time in cases involving British subjects.

Letter II

Mangaia, Mareti 9 1891

Kiā koe e te Kavana teitei te tiaki o te ʻau Beritane i teia pā ʻenua nei i roto i te moana Pacivika nei kia orana.

E te kavana teitei ē tērā te tuatua kia tae i te marama mareti 7/91 kua ʻuipā mātou i tēta'i ʻuipāʻanga maʻata, mei Ngā Ariki ē 2 Nga Kavana ē 6 te ʻOrometua koia ʻoki Ha[r]isi ngā raveʻangaʻanga ngā diakono te tangata kātoatoa. Teia te tū o tā mātou tuatua ʻanga e tāʻokotaʻi iā mātou kia meitaki mātou ē kia ʻau i teianei rā kua ʻau kua kore te riri tēta'i ē tēta'i mei ngā Ariki ngā Kavana e tae ʻua atu i te tangata katoa.

Teia te tuatua tē 'akakite atu nei mātou kiā koe kua 'akatika ia ē ka rave te au Papa'ā i tā rātou au 'anga'anga koia 'oki te 'oko'oko 'apinga i roto i te 'enua mā te tika ē te tau i raro ake i te Ture 'enua ē te Reva Beritāne. Ē tē 'akakite atu nei mātou i te tuatua 'openga kia kite koe kua vai ngā 'Are toa. Teia tēta'i tuatua ka vai 'ua rāi tō mātou mākete tei 'akamou'ia e tō mātou ai metua.

'Tira 'ua kia orana.
Ngā Ariki
Ngā Kavana
Mangaia

The following is an accompanying translation made by the then-resident missionary, G. A. Harris.

Mangaia, Hervey Islands, March 9 1891

To His Excellency the Chief Commissioner of the Western Pacific. Salutation to you Honoured Sir.

On March 7th we received your letter & we held a great meeting on the subject concerning which you wrote us. There were present 2 Kings, 6 Chiefs, the European missionary Haresi [Harris], & his staff of workers [more accurately, the workers, the deacons, all the people]. I am glad to inform your Excellency that we have succeeded in obtaining peace for Mangaia. The animosity between the Kings, Chiefs & people caused by the disturbances of the Whites & the stores exists now no longer, as we are now united once again all over the Island.

We are glad also to inform you that we have acceded to your request to allow the Whites to do their work, that is their trading on the land under our own just & reasonable laws & under also the British Flag. The stores formerly closed are now opened by us, but our Market House for the trading of any foreign vessels which may arrive here will not be closed — this arrangement being in accordance with the words of our forefathers.

Kings
Chiefs
(of) Mangaia

This letter was written by the aronga mana comprising the two ariki, the more dominant Metuakore Tione (John) Trego (usually addressed in colonial documents as King John or John Trego) and No'oroa, the son of Davida (Tavita) who had been seized by the Peruvian slaver, along with the six

district kavana. The letter referred to by the Mangaian leaders was written to the ariki by Thurston the previous year. He had expressed concern at their treatment of Pearse, stressing "that it is wrong and most imprudent for you to allow any person to be prevented from trading and to be driven away." While he was happy to hear their complaints he warned them that they had laid themselves open to action for damages (Governor 1890a). The Mangaian letter and an accompanying one from Harris may be seen as a response to Thurston's admonitions. The Mangaians recognized Thurston's status as *"kavana teitei"* (high-ranking governor) and his important role as the *"tiaki"* (guardian, custodian) of the British *"'au"* (authority, government) within the Pacific. Whereas Mangaian letters to the LMS had always presumed a familial relationship of equality between them, this response makes it plain that the indigenous Mangaian authorities recognized the power that lay behind Thurston's patronizing advice. The island's indigenous leaders were clearly aware that they had to address these outside authorities with far greater deference and respect than had been the case when Nūmangātini appealed to Grey in 1863.

The Pearse incident had its origins in a long-standing Mangaian policy aimed at excluding foreign traders from permanently living on their island.[14] When Captain Bourke of the Royal Navy arrived in Her Majesty's ship (hereinafter HMS) *Hyacinth* and proclaimed the Protectorate status in Mangaia on 29 November 1888, the island's leaders had asked him if this meant that they had now to permit foreigners to live there. He reportedly advised them that such persons could come to Mangaia provided they obeyed the island's local laws.[15]

From 1891, under the Protectorate, the leaders of each island were organized as Island Councils (in te tara Mangaia called *te 'Uipā'anga*). These bodies determined their own internal laws, but all new legislation had to be approved by the Resident in Rarotonga (Gilson 1980: 63–64; Scott 1991: 48–49). In Mangaia, the Council comprised the traditional leaders, the two Ariki and the six kavana, who formed the permanent Government of Mangaia (variously called *"te Pū ... o Mangaia"* or *"te 'Au o Mangaia"*). Additional members included the *'Akavānui* (judges) appointed for each puna (district), as well as elected representatives drawn from the island's *'ui rangatira*.[16] Speaking in Mangaia, Moss had promised that if the local government acted "justly and with consideration for others," he would not interfere in their activities (Moss 1891). Clearly, for Moss and his masters, the Pearse case justified such interference.

The Mangaian letter alludes to the local laws when it refers to *"te Ture 'enua"* (also known as *"Ture nō te 'Enua"* [Law of the Land] [*AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 11]). Such law, as stated in the letter, was founded upon *"te tika ē te*

tau." Harris translates this important phrase as "just & reasonable." Tika includes ideas of truth, fairness, justice, equity: tau refers to being right, proper, correct, appropriate, suitable, or fitting (Buse with Taringa 1995: 469, 490; Savage 1980: 363, 379; Shibata 1999: 298, 319). Thus the governing laws of Mangaia's polity were premised upon a core philosophy of justice and equity for all people, applied in ways that were appropriate or fitting to the particular case. The letter goes on to join such law with that of Britain's imperial authority (represented by its national flag): "*te Ture 'enua ē te Reva Beritāne*" (literally, the law [of the] land and the British flag). While Mangaians thought they had fairly applied their "Ture 'enua" to Pearse, Thurston's comments show how the "Reva Beritāne" in reality acted to constrain the autonomy of such local law when it came to British subjects. This external pressure parallels a continuing internal tension in the Protectorate between the Resident and islands such as Mangaia that sought to enhance their local authority at the expense of Moss's.[17]

The events leading up to Pearse's expulsion can be summarized as follows. Pearse had arrived in Mangaia as a representative of the Auckland trading company, Donald and Edenborough, in September 1889, leasing property for one year from Ata, the kavana of Kei'ā district. Initially, Pearse's relations with the local authorities were good, but he came into dispute with the ruling chiefs when he refused to obey some of their laws. His actions and attitudes seem to have aroused various tensions and resentments within the island community, fueled by various allegations including his sexual improprieties with local women, and perhaps more significantly, his verbal abuse of some of the island's leaders, including one of the ariki. Pearse also failed to pay his landlord, Ata, kavana of Kei'ā district, the agreed rent. The arrival of a second trader who was supported by one of the other kavana, Vaipo of Ivirua, initiated a series of disputes among the kavana and people of Mangaia, with two factions appearing, each supporting one of the traders. The backing by different kavana suggests pre-existing geopolitical rivalries may have come into play in this dispute. Harris believed that Pearse encouraged these disputes and sought the overthrow of one of the two ariki of the island, presumably in support of those leaders who favored his residence. With the threat of actual violence breaking out between the disputing kavana and their followers, the authorities acted to expel both traders.[18] For Mangaians, who feared that the arrival of Europeans also portended the loss of their lands, this solution must have been especially welcome.

The letter refers to this time of conflict, alluding to the feelings of anger ("*riri*") that involved everyone on the island, from the ruling leaders downwards. Harris's translation adds extra detail not in the original, referring

to Europeans and their trading stores as the cause of this contention. Thurston's criticisms, coupled no doubt with the danger of legal actions, prompted Mangaian leaders to try to reunite the island community. That Thurston's letter was taken very seriously is shown by the extraordinary nature of the ensuing meeting, with all the chiefs and church leaders assembling together to discuss its content. At this important juncture, Mangaians responded by seeking a broad consensus agreed to by both its secular and religious leaders. Traditionally, Mangaian society had always aspired to just such an agreement between what they considered the two arms of political authority. The resulting peace was believed to lead not only to general harmony but greater prosperity for all. The term 'au (translated in the nineteenth century as government, authority) encapsulated these deeper social values: in traditional Mangaian society, the 'au referred to the highest ranking secular leader, also called the mangaia,[19] whose authority lasted just so long as tranquil relations were maintained among the various kin groups. Any subsequent outbreak of violence shattered the social order, which had then to await a new mangaia, whose reign would ensure prosperity.[20] Seen in this light, it is not surprising that the letter writers informed Thurston with much relief and pleasure that their efforts at reunification ("*e tā'okota'i*") in order to achieve good feelings and peace ("*kia meitaki mātou ē kia 'au*") had been successful: there was peace ("*kua 'au*") between everyone. By doing so they had achieved the state of tranquil social relations that Mangaian society traditionally aspired to. Whereas the LMS supported such island-wide initiatives, demonstrated by Harris's participation in these processes, Mangaians were to find that Britain's rulers in the Pacific took a quite different view.

Attitudes of the Colonial Authorities

What seemed a reasonable solution to a dangerous rift in the island's polity was viewed by British authorities as the rough handling of a British subject going about his lawful business. They viewed the acts of the Mangaians as unreasonable and arbitrary. The language hints throughout at the cultural and racial distinctions that officials perceived to exist between themselves and the Mangaians — a far cry from the warm familial bonds of the LMS. Writing to Moss in February 1891, the New Zealand Governor, Lord Onslow, was very clear that the Mangaians had to be taught a lesson.

> You will make it clear that, while recognising to the full their right to frame their own laws and to govern themselves, Her Majesty's Government cannot allow agreements to be broken which have

> been formally entered into between the natives and Her Majesty's subjects; and, while using every effort to persuade the natives to admit European traders on the condition of obeying the laws, you will impress upon the arikis that, if they give Europeans documents authorising them to do certain acts in the islands, Her Majesty's Government will require them to respect those engagements.

In the event that no satisfactory settlement could be reached Moss was to require compensation from the Mangaian authorities for Pearse's losses (Seddon 1891b).

Moss initially threatened Mangaia's leaders with having to pay $2,390, "and such further sum as your contumacy may render necessary," but he eventually allowed Mangaians to pay $1,390 (equivalent to £208 10 s.) in installments; "the lowest sum" he thought permissible. While some of Mangaia's leaders, such as Vaipo, were prepared to pay, others were incensed at Moss's demand. Ngariu, kavana of Tamarua, reportedly exclaimed that "he was ruler of his own land and not Mr. Moss" and refused to contribute. He eventually submitted and paid his portion only after Moss had suggested to Mangaia's government that they blockade the roads from Tamarua to prevent trade, while he would make sure that anything already bought by traders was confiscated.[21]

The Governor later made clear to Moss the real motivation for such vigorous responses (Onslow 1892):

> the main object of British protection is to encourage British trade & it will not do to let the trading interests be ridden roughshod over by the natives so long as you can prevent this all may go well but any real grievance would meet with prompt support from head quarters.

How far such support might go was made very clear by Lord Onslow when giving Moss instructions about his trip through the Cook Islands by a naval vessel in April 1891 (Seddon 1891c).

> You will make a point of visiting the islands of Mangaia and Aitutaki, where the recent disturbances have taken place, and I am in hopes that the appearance of a man-of-war will convince the inhabitants of the authority which you now bear, and will enable you to effect a satisfactory settlement of all difficulties.

Warship visits to Mangaia were generally associated with government business (such as proclamations or carrying official communications),

although the ships and crew themselves do not seem to have been viewed as threatening.[22] In this case, the presence of a man-of-war appears intended as a reminder to the chiefs that Moss was the local face of British authority and therefore demanded respect for his decisions as Resident. While this display of British might did not occur until after Mangaia's leaders had written to Thurston, it could only have confirmed to the chiefs the correctness of their actions in resiling from their enforcement of their own long-standing laws to exclude foreigners from their land. They had no real choice in permitting such people to live and trade among them. A visiting warship made plain to everyone that behind the minatory letters lay the potential sanction of the Royal Navy. Thus do imperial powers ensure compliance from those they claim to protect.

Despite these pressures the ruling chiefs of Mangaia made it clear at the conclusion of their letter to Thurston that they would not abandon all their old practices established, as they pointed out, by their ancestors (*"tei 'akamou'ia e tō mātou ai metua"*). They retained the market house where foreigners had long been able to land and trade under local supervision. The powerful sanction represented by the deeds and words of the island's *tupuna* (ancestors) in the end stood firm and defended their descendants from the threats made by the guardians of Britain's 'au. Such ancestral authority lay at the heart of all the actions of Mangaia's rulers, who based their decisions on customary usages laid down by previous generations of leaders. The accumulated knowledge and wisdom transmitted from those previous generations helped sustain the chiefs and people of Mangaia in their efforts to retain some measure of autonomy in these encounters with Britain's colonial representatives.

Attitude of the LMS

For the LMS, the Pearse incident was a sore trial of their relationship with both the Mangaian 'ekalesia and the colonial powers. Harris was considered by many of the Papa'ā supporters of Pearse as complicit in the actions of the Mangaian authorities against him. Pearse's summary represents the negative Papa'ā attitudes toward the role played by missionaries like Harris (Governor 1890b):

> It is well known to yourself that Mr Harris has ruled these natives during the last twenty years with an iron hand, and that many applications have been made by natives for his removal, even before the settlement of white men on the Island.[23]

Moss too was critical of Harris, calling him "the absolute and unchecked ruler of Mangaia" who had allowed "a most narrow and tyrannical system of church discipline" to prevail, and who had supported Pearse's opponents on the island (*AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 8, 11). A more elegant but similarly patronizing view was put forth by New Zealand's Governor (Onslow 1891):

> The Aitutakians seem to be like wax in your hands, and it is evident that the "mana" of Mr Harris in Mangaia is broken, which is very satisfactory. I only hope that it may never return; for it is obvious, from experience of affairs in the Cook Islands & elsewhere, that missionary rule is only fit to be the swaddling-band of an infant community, and that its laws press with a tyrannical harshness, when the child is well able to walk alone. At the same time, I am sure that you will deal kindly with these men, who have done much for the civilisation of the natives in the past, and are now in the somewhat humiliating position of seeing their prestige departing, as their pupils acquire a wider knowledge of that world to which they have introduced them.

Like many other Papa'ā in the Pacific, these men saw the British 'orometua as irksome obstacles to be overcome (see Gunson 1978: 290–291). Their criticisms highlight the common European assumption that "natives" are not capable of deciding things for themselves but must naturally be dominated by their Papa'ā advisers. Gunson (1978: 295) clarifies the exact role of missionaries: "Their influence in island politics tended to be indirect and ecclesiastical, in a theocratic sense, rather than political." For liberals like Moss the intrusion of the church into the affairs of the state was something he worked to end in Mangaia.[24] He took great pride in describing how he had achieved a separation between them (e.g., Auckland Star 1891).

Harris himself set out the issues faced by the Mangaian authorities and described the relationship as he saw it between himself and the indigenous leaders of the island (see Governor 1891b). He described himself as "the adviser of the Kings & Chiefs in relation to difficulties and outside matters which they themselves have not been able to understand or deal with." The aronga mana would normally

> wait on me & inform me of their action & purposes in regard to their laws & island affairs, sometimes asking my opinion or advice on certain subjects & sometimes merely informing me of what they had done. If it has pleased them to take my advice on any matters brought to me for my judgment they have always bourne the

> responsibility of carrying out that advice, or even when it has not pleased them to do so I have not regarded the subject any further.

Harris's description of his own practice over twenty years reflects quite well the strictly advisory role adopted by earlier British 'orometua, in line with LMS precepts "not to take any *active* part in politics" (Gunson 1978: 281 [his emphasis]). Because the resident missionaries themselves embodied the relationship between the 'ekalesia of Mangaia and Britain their advice, as Harris indicates, was closely attended to. In the end, however, the responsibilities of government remained with the aronga mana. Thus in the Pearse incident, Harris in fact chose not to give advice because of a perceived conflict of interest, and left sole responsibility for deciding the appropriate course of action up to the chiefs themselves (Governor 1891b). His actions were in accord with general mission practices in the Pacific as Gunson (1978: 291) notes: "The island states were primarily chiefly in government, and it was the chiefs in their secular role who had the ultimate authority."

Building a Special Relationship

Mangaia's encounters with the British colonial powers did not in the medium term at least intimidate the people or undermine their sense of autonomy. For example, in 1899 Moss's successor, W. E. Gudgeon, felt the need to write the following to the ariki, Metuakore Tione (John) Trego, and to Tangitoru Daniela (Governor 1899a).[25] His references to the Federation refer to the Rarotonga-based Cook Islands government of the Protectorate period:

> I would remind you that although you have been annexed to the British Crown yet you are more or less a part & portion of the Federation of the Cook Islands and as such are as much [under] the Parliament & laws of the Federation as the people of Rarotonga. This is a point that I wish to impress upon you most particularly as I have heard that in your capacity as British Subjects you deem yourselves in a measure independent of the laws of the Federation.

That same year Daniela and other Mangaian leaders voiced their independence and continuing capacity to take initiatives by offering Lord Ranfurly, the Governor of New Zealand, some land in the district of Kei'ā.[26] The two letters they wrote were translated by Gudgeon (see Governor 1899b).

Letter III

Mangaia, Oneroa, 17th May 1899

Tērā te tara, kia rongo mai koe e te Ariki teitei o te ao tangata nei. Nō tōku kite kiā koe; Te 'akatumu'anga o te tatau 'anga tangata nui o te ao tangata nei kā ta'i. Tērā te potonga one o roto i te manava i Aauau [sic; *A'ua'u*?].

E aro'a atu kiā koe,
Ko au, ko
Tangitoru Daniela tōku ingoa
Te ingoa o te kāinga 'o Ariari tei roto i Oneroa, Kei'ā.

Here are the words O Mighty Chief of all people. First, I know that you are the root of knowledge of all people. From the heart of an Aauau [or, From the heart of A'ua'u?], I Tangitoru Daniela give to you a piece of land "called Ariari" situated in the settlement of Oneroa in the district of Kei'ā. [I, whose name is Tangitoru Daniela, show aro'a to you.]

A'ua'u was an ancient name for the island of Mangaia. By contrast with the 1863 letter Daniela raises the Governor up much higher, as if he is of far greater status, so that he becomes "ariki teitei" (high-ranking ariki), and the "*'akatumu'anga o te tatau 'anga tangata nui o te ao tangata*" (more literally perhaps, the source of the vast human knowledge of the human world). Such language reflects the fulsome style used to elevate Thurston and suggests that Mangaians had adopted as a matter of course such honorific rhetoric for all colonial officials. Whereas Mangaians writing to the LMS stressed their closeness by employing familial terms, these official letters positioned the Mangaians in a subordinate position to that occupied by the British representatives. While such language may simply reflect a traditional kind of discourse used for persons of rank now applied to foreign officials, it may also have been employed as a polite way of responding to the superior attitudes adopted by such officials when corresponding with Mangaians. Despite such rhetorical posturing Daniela's offer of Ariari (located on top of the upraised coral *makatea* in Oneroa) was motivated by a feeling of aro'a toward the Governor; the same cultural concept as used for the LMS or Grey in 1863. This suggests that the land being offered to the British was intended to establish a similar ongoing reciprocal relationship between the parties.

The response of the Governor, Lord Ranfurly, shows that he did not understand the cultural meaning of this gesture. Rather he expressed consternation and even bewilderment, which required consultation not only with Richard Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, but eventually with London.

However, on 16 December 1899 the Imperial Government formally communicated their acceptance of the land (Governor 1899c). The award of this land ("Ariari block in Oneroa, Keia: section 5 comprising 3 acres and 29 perches") to the Government was subsequently confirmed at a sitting of the Cook Islands Native Land Court in Mangaia in 1904 (Mangaia Titles Register, 1888–1975).

Letter IV

Mangaia, Oneroa, 17 May 1899

Kia Ranfurly teia lata [sic] *kia orana koe. 'Ua koa rava i tōku kite 'anga i te tara mei roto mai i tō'ou va'a e pupū mai ana. Kua rekareka au i tā'au tara ē kua tae mai koe i te Cook Islands nei, e kite i te mata 'o ngā tupuna o ngā māori New Zealand.*

Kāre rava e ngaro pōina iāku kāre 'oki e pē 'e auro tikāi. Tā'au tara. Nā Tangitoru Daniela.

Ngā kite
Te-ariki-no'oroa
Ata

This is a letter to Lord Ranfurly, Greetings. Great was my delight when I listened to the words that flowed from your mouth. I was rejoiced to hear those words. You have also visited the Cook Islands and have seen with your own eyes the ancestors of the New Zealand Maories. This fact will ever be remembered by me and your words will not fade but remain as gold imperishable.

[This is my speech.] From Tangitoru Daniela, [and the witnesses] Te Ariki nohoroa [*sic*] and Ata

Te Ariki No'oroa (also known as No'oroa) was one of the two reigning ariki of the day, along with Metuakore. Ata was the kavana of Kei'ā district. According to Gudgeon, Daniela (a "Mangaian chief") had been in Rarotonga and heard Ranfurly speak. Gudgeon helpfully explained that the Governor's "*tara*" (words, speech) in the second letter referred "to the migrations of the maori people from these islands to New Zealand" (Governor 1899b). Daniela was clearly moved by Ranfurly's recognition that the people of the Cook Islands were connected (as ancient tupuna) with the Māori of Aotearoa. For Daniela these words would never be forgotten or perish but rather truly remain like gold ("*Kāre rava e ngaro pōina iāku kāre 'oki e pē 'e auro tikāi*"). Gudgeon also thought he saw a deeper play in action, suggesting that Daniela was motivated to offer the land in emulation of the act of Makea who provided the land upon which the Residency was built in Rarotonga, and to provide the Governor with his own residence when visiting Mangaia

(Governor 1899d). These actions appear to have been part of a Mangaian concern at this time to establish clearly that they did not come under the mana of Makea who served as Queen (Ariki) of the Federation (that is, head of the Protectorate's Executive Council). For example, in 1892 the "tiaki 'au" (guardians of the government/council) in Mangaia wrote to Moss evidently with the sanction of the Government and Island Council: "We cannot allow Makea, Ariki, to rule over us. We have our own Arikis, also Governors, & Rangatiras of the land, & we shall rule it ourselves" (Governor 1892d; see also Governor 1892e).[27]

These brief messages between Daniela and the Governor of New Zealand were witnessed and therefore sanctioned by members of the government (No'oroa and Ata). The offer of land is not the action of a single individual perhaps prompted by momentary emotions on hearing the Governor speak. Instead, Daniela and Mangaia's leaders seem to be reaching out through these letters and the offer of land to sustain their reciprocal relationship with representatives of the British 'au, itself built on an even older bond with Britain's 'ekalesia dating back to the 1820s. The reference to being the tupuna of New Zealand's Māori may have been intended to further the connections with New Zealand's Governor to whom the Resident was answerable. Daniela expresses himself in terms of the greatest respect for this representative of Queen Victoria, but he is not intimidated; rather, he explains his actions as manifestations of aro'a toward the Governor. For him and Mangaia's government their gestures signaled a desire to establish a mutually respectful and beneficial relationship. In that sense these two short letters were large in their political significance, being communications intended to establish Mangaia's own special relationship with the British Crown, while at the same time distinguishing it from Rarotonga's authority. For Mangaians the writ of Makea and the Federal government did not reach their own shores nor limit their decision-making capacity, whatever the Resident might say.

Conclusion

Visitors to Mangaia today are proudly told of the island's flag given to them by Queen Victoria, along with other symbols of that relationship. Mangaians themselves are sometimes called Parate'e (British citizens) (from Paratāne [Great Britain]). These anecdotes that a Papa'ā *manu'iri* (visitor, guest) might hear in conversation with elders and *'are kōrero* (traditional experts) draw attention to the sustained efforts of the aronga mana and the people of Mangaia over more than a century to manage their relations with various powerful forces in the outside world while at the same time maintaining a notable degree of cultural, economic, and political autonomy.

From the first arrival of the LMS 'orometua in 1824 the island kept alive a complex and often warm connection with representatives of Great Britain. The Mangaian church saw itself as a community embraced within an international Protestant Christian family that could be drawn on for material or moral assistance. A notable manifestation of this family tie was the presence of a British 'orometua in Mangaia, one or more of whom served in Mangaia continuously from 1845 to the early 1900s. However, the relationship in the later nineteenth century with Britain's colonial representatives was more difficult, for these agents regarded Mangaians not as part of a family but rather as "natives" who needed to be admonished and threatened in order to be effectively governed. For the colonial powers a white person, even a trader such as Pearse, was far superior to any Pacific peoples, no matter how sincere their Christian devotion.

This sense of racial differentiation was recognized by Mangaians, who addressed their colonial masters more deferentially than was the case in their earlier correspondence with officials of the LMS. By recognizing this assumption of superiority Mangaians risked, in the words of their New Zealand Māori whanaunga, Moana Jackson, being "reduced ... to bit players in the march of progress and development," made to view themselves and their culture as inferior to that of Europe (Jackson 1998: 71). Mangaia's leaders were well aware that their society and its culture risked becoming marginalized and swallowed up within these new external political and economic relations. Nevertheless, they continued to search for ways to sustain their relationship with these new powers, while at the same time retaining what Jackson calls "their own worth, their own goodness, their own sense of value" (Jackson 1998: 71).

Mangaia's leaders adopted various subaltern strategies, notably the use of politely deferential language with which to grant cautious concessions to outsiders while at the same time continuing other practices sanctioned by long usage. More significantly, they decided to practice aro'a upon these officials in order to establish relationships between them and ensure that Mangaian society would continue to have a distinctive place in this new world. Daniela's allusion to ancestral connections with their whanaunga in Aotearoa New Zealand can be understood as one such gesture, creating a bond between that country's Governor and themselves. More substantially still, Mangaia's leaders offered parcels of land to the Imperial Government on their own initiative. By giving the British a small part of their own island, Mangaians demonstrated their commitment to the relationship between themselves and the colonial power while at the same time highlighting their own continuing capacity to take the initiative. These actions were also informed by the need to differentiate Mangaia from Rarotonga's

increasing hegemony as the center of political and economic power under the Protectorate. Not surprisingly, Mangaia's leaders did not consider that the British Resident or Rarotonga's indigenous leaders, who had acquired such prominence in the colonial government, should be able to determine either policies or their administration beyond the shores of their own island. Despite the various external and internal pressures exerted upon them, the people of Mangaia were able to sustain much of the island's customary social, economic, and political patterns—something their descendants proudly continue to this day.

NOTES

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1. This paragraph is collated from various sources including oral information provided from various Mangaians, notably the late Pōkino Aperahama, Pāpāmāmā Aratangi, and Mataora Harry, as well as published works including Aratangi 1986: 77–95; Aratangi 1988: 68–100; Buck 1993: 17–52; Gill 1984: 323–345. Also see Crocombe 1964: 115, 161 for the Land Court in Mangaia.

2. Said 1988: vi. A good example of this approach is Pandey 1988. Said himself went on to compare Subaltern Studies with the work being undertaken "to articulate the hidden or suppressed accounts" of many other marginalized or dispossessed groups throughout the world.

3. These quotations come from a submission to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) and were spoken by the great Ngāpuhi leader, the late Sir James Henare. The *mauri* is that "immaterial 'life-principle'" of someone or something that ensures its continuing life and prosperity (see Hanson and Hanson 1983: 62–64).

4. These statements were made by the former Chair of the Waitangi Tribunal, E. T. Durie, in respect of New Zealand Pākehā historians who write about Māori history but clearly reflect appropriate practices for cognate societies such as Mangaia. Like the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, indigenous Cook Islanders describe themselves as Māori.

5. A small cluster of Mangaian language texts, chiefly speeches and correspondence, was published in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*

(hereinafter *AJHR*), 1892, A.-3. More recently, there have been more extensive publications, both in Cook Islands Māori and English, for Rarotonga and other islands, though not for Mangaia itself. Marjorie Crocombe and Kauraka Kauraka are prominent among more recent Cook Islander collectors, editors, and translators of historical and literary material in the vernacular. For a brief survey see Crocombe 2003. A large body of Cook Islands texts held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in New Zealand has been published digitally, though again these do not come from Mangaia: see http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-HutColl.html. Teresia Teaiwa kindly drew this digital archive to my attention.

6. The usages of ariki in this letter require some clarification of its Mangaian meanings. Before Christianity was accepted the term ariki was primarily used to denote the three orders of high priests who acted as mediums for the paramount *atua* (spirit power), Rongo. These orders were the *ariki pā uta* (inland ariki), the *ariki pā tai* (sea-side ariki), and the *ariki nō te tāpora kai* (ariki of the food basket). Ariki was also sometimes used to denote someone of rank in the kin groups from which these high priests were customarily selected. The letter's references to Davida and Teao seem to be used in this second sense; indicating younger men, most likely firstborn sons, who descended from the families who had always provided the holders of the old priestly titles. Nūmangātini had himself served as the ariki pā uta and ariki pā tai. Since the coming of Christianity, the word Ariki has been translated by missionaries and later by colonial and postcolonial Cook Islands governments as "King" or "Queen," depending on the gender of the incumbent, all of whom trace their descent back to Nūmangātini himself. These Ariki act as the titular head of Mangaian society, the role being performed by Nūmangātini in this letter.

7. A useful explanation of aro'a as it is understood in contemporary Cook Islands society can be found in Jonassen 2003: 138.

8. Kavana is a transliteration of "governor" and appears to have been coined by the missionaries in place of the older term for these ruling chiefs, the *pava*, perhaps to rid the office of its associations with warfare and other activities that the mission sought to eradicate as inappropriate in the new Christian social order. Interestingly, usages of pava can still be found in official papers in the 1890s (e.g., *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 8, 11).

9. The aronga tao'onga may refer to those other persons of rank in Mangaia below the kavana, notably the 'ui rangatira (subdistrict chiefs) responsible for managing sections of the six puna under the authority of the kavana.

10. At this stage New Zealand was a self-governing British colony with a responsible Government comprising a Premier and Ministers with a majority in the local Parliament and a Governor representing the Imperial Government. This political system did not then include representation of New Zealand Māori. They only acquired some token parliamentary representation in 1867.

11. A slightly different version of Gill 1863c was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 October 1864.

12. The trader, E. H. Lamont, who visited Mangaia in 1853, reported that ships only "occasionally" called there due to the lack of a safe anchorage. Most traded for animals, fresh fruit, and vegetables. Locals also conducted trade with vessels from Tahiti (Lamont 1867: 80). Mangaians, like other Cook Islanders, were also recruited by visiting American

whalers and other trading ships for their outstanding sailing skills (Gill 1984: 342; Scott 1991: 14–16). That relations between ship and shore were generally friendly can be inferred from individual whaling ship visits described by Maretu (1983: 134–136, 189) and Gill (1876: 351–352).

13. Unless otherwise specified the following two paragraphs are primarily drawn from the following references: Gilson 1980: 57–64, 89; Ross 1964: 234–244; Scott 1991: 34–44.

14. The rest of the section about the Pearse incident, unless otherwise indicated, is a synthesis of the following primary sources: Governor 1890b, 1890c, 1890d, 1890e, 1891b; Seddon 1891a; Auckland Star 1891; Ata 1912. Some of these texts are reproduced in the relevant annual *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*.

15. The relevant part of the proclamation reads: "All laws and customs at present recognised will remain in force, and her (or his) administration over the district (or island) will not be interfered with" (Seddon 1888). This differs slightly from the text found in Governor (1888) and in Gilson (1980: 60 n. 11). The differences reflect the different island contexts where the proclamation was made.

16. The composition and responsibilities of the Council and the official usages in te tara Mangaia quoted in this paragraph can be found in a series of Mangaian language documents in *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 3–4, 7, 11–13.

17. A good example of the tension between Rarotonga and Mangaia can be found in the correspondence between the Ariki, Metuakore John Trego, and Moss: Governor, Series 11, Box 1, Record 56. Inwards Despatches from the British Resident Cook Islands. Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington Office. These documents are reproduced in *AJHR*, 1893, A.-6: 24–30.

18. Threatened or actual violence has always been a serious matter, especially for Christianized Mangaia, where such disturbances are considered indicative of the island's former *'ētene* (heathen) state. See e.g., Gill 1984: 382–383; Reilly 2003: 14. Any widespread violence or warfare in the island's Christian polity would therefore have been a most alarming prospect and one to be avoided at all costs.

19. Examples of this usage of 'au or mangaia as synonyms for the secular leader can be found in Reilly 2003.

20. A useful summary of these ideas can be found in Aratangi 1986: 3–18.

21. Extensive discussions of the fine for expelling Pearse can be found in *AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 8–12; *AJHR*, 1899, A.-13. From the late 1870s until annexation in 1901, the local Cook Islands currency was the Chilean dollar (introduced from Tahiti, a major trading partner) (Gilson 1980: 48, 52, 80). The threats used to force Ngariu's compliance are referred to in *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 2.

22. The 1892 visit of HMS *Champion* is a good example of such an official call. While one pro-Protectorate chief organized food for the ship's crew, other leaders complained about the Rarotonga regime to the ship's officer bringing letters from Moss. See Governor 1892a,

1892b, 1892c; *AJHR*, 1893, A.-6: 24, 25–26, 27. The custom of giving fresh food to visiting warships continued well into the twentieth century: see Island Territories 1963.

23. Pearse's reference to Mangaian attempts to get rid of Harris are difficult to verify from more objective sources. He was after all writing this letter to Vice-Consul Exham, also the local representative for the trading company, Donald and Edenborough, which Pearse himself worked for (Ross 1964: 240). The historian, Richard Gilson (1980: 49), notes that "[Exham and his predecessor] did much to foster European contempt for the authority of the chiefs, ... and broke local laws whenever it suited them." Nevertheless, Harris does seem to have viewed aspects of Mangaian society and its people's morals more darkly than some of his predecessors did. He is critical in his letters of the local church, their faith commitment, the competency of almost all its ministers, and the effectiveness of its structures. He expressed his criticisms to the church, and expelled a number of its members. Such attitudes and practices cannot have endeared him at times to some sections of Mangaia's community. See e.g., Harris 1879b, 1882, 1883.

24. Moss stresses a number of times in his speeches to Mangaians the importance of establishing a strong separation between church and government in Mangaia. It was also enunciated in their new 1891 laws (article 14): see *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 3–6, 12.

25. Daniela was an influential community leader. Among other roles he served as Pilot of Oneroa and Clerk of the inaugural Island Council: see Buck 1993: 49; *AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 11; *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 6.

26. English texts of the following letters are found, along with official responses, in *AJHR*, 1900, A.-3: 1–3.

27. The tiaki 'au are listed: Kakerua, Poito, Miringatangi (Oneroa), Tearo (Tamarua), Kiripaore (Ivirua). These were the 'Akavānui (Judges) on the Island Council: see *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 11.

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